I: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Education.—Children were indulged and seldom corrected. Whether the *Tehuelche* ever had the Eiel bugalen rite (cf. infra under *Puelche*, Education) is uncertain. Gusinde (1926 a, p. 310; 1931, p. 1083) was told by the *Tehuelche* of the upper Río Gallegos, to whom he paid a very brief visit in 1924, that they had a rite called, as among the *Ona*, klóketen; the rite was held in a tent covered with guanaco skin, and face covers of feathers were used instead of the *Ona* masks. Field work on the point here raised is imperative, to gather details, and to determine, if possible, whether this rite is an ancient *Tehuelche* one or one introduced more recently by immigrant *Ona*. (Cf. supra Introduction, on *Ona* immigration into Patagonia.)

Girls' puberty rite.—The *Tehuelche* had a simple puberty rite for girls. This first menses rite, as described in detail by Musters from personal observation (1871, pp. 76–78), followed the general pattern of the birth rite as regards painting and bleeding by the medicine man, erection of the "pretty house," slaughter of mares with feast, evening bonfire, dancing in fours by plumed and girdled men to instrumental accompaniment (pl. 29, *bottom*). The main differences were: The girl was placed in seclusion in the "pretty house," and the old woman sang while the men danced.

D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:177–178) describes the *Tehuelche* first menses rite as consisting chiefly of greetings to the girl by all of the tribe, of the distribution of horse meat by her to them, and of ablutions by the girl in the nearest stream with only her mother and other female relatives and the female shaman present. Viedma (1837 b, p. 78) noted the slaughter of a horse at first menses; Peña (1789, ed. Lehmann-Nitsche, 1914, p. 11), the seating of the girl in a public place, a dance around her, and the sacrifice of a mare; Lista (1879 b, p. 83), a feast lasting several days, a dance around a bonfire, and libations; Cordoves (1903, p. 47), tent(s) painted red.

Muñiz (1917, p. 266) reported two small huts with the girl seated in one, and a young man with the title of "king" armed with a whip and bolas, who castigated the men or women who executed poorly the dance around the fire between the two tents. Muñiz ascribed this rite to the Pampean Indians in general, not specifically to the *Tehuelche*. The role of the "king" in it suggests that it may have been exclusively *Puelche*, or else *Tehuelche* influenced by *Puelche*. (Cf. Eiel first menses rite, pp. 165–166.)

Marriage.—See page 149.

Death observances.—The most common form of disposal of the dead in the Patagonian area was cairn burial on a hilltop, the body resting on the surface of the ground with knees to thorax; other forms were sand interment and cave and crevice disposal. Some belongings were buried with the dead.

1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

1822, 2:90, who also gives soychuhèt, for "men that dwell with God beyond the world"; *Tehuelche*, Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65, and Hervás, 1800–1805, 1:133) Setebos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:56, 60, 78), Sesom or Sesó (Moreno, 1879, pp. 239, 387); Kek-a-once, Tchûr (Gardiner, 1852, pp. 23–24); Maiph (Beauvoir, 1915, pp. 180, 189, "espíritu bueno," "sombra"); Maipè (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). The reiteration of the idea that the dead go to the Supreme Being after death is suggestive of the similar *Ona* conception, as is also the relative aloofness of the *Tehuelche* deity.

Evil happenings were attributable to an evil spirit or evil spirits, known under the names of Cheleulle, Cheleule (Pigafetta, 1906, 1:60, 78), Atskannakanatz (Falkner, 1774, p. 116), Achekenat-kanet (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 4:220, "good and evil"); Agschem (Moreno, 1879, pp. 235, 416), Valichu or Gualichu (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 66; Musters, 1871, p. 180; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22), Camalasque (Viedma, 1837 b, pp. 75–76), Kérenk(e)n (Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237) Kerrkenge (Moreno, 1879, p. 387), Kakengn, Kubejeken (Outes, 1913 a, pp. 486–487, "dios"); Jasemel (Peña, 1914, p. 11, "un Dios"). Gualichu is a non-*Tehuelchean* and non-*Araucanian* word. A good deal of *Tehuelche* religion seems to have consisted in propitiating and holding at bay these malevolent spirits, although some of them were apparently benevolent guardians of the *Tehuelche*. The best piece of rhea meat and the first bottles of liquor were offered to Walichu (Lista, 1879 a, p. 77).

Certain miscellaneous observances of a magico-religious nature have been recorded in fragmentary form. The new moon was given a salute with low muttered words (Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 203). The cry of the nightjar over the camp or the toldo was an omen of sickness or death (Musters, 1871, p. 182; 1872, p. 203). It was taboo to injure nightjars (Musters, 1872, p. 203) and to take young half-fledged hawks from the nest (Coan, 1880, p. 113). Hair clippings could be used in black magic; when camp was broken, everything not taken away was burned lest some enemy should get hold of the article and do harm to the previous possessor of it (Moreno, 1879, p. 239). A lunar eclipse was attributed to Gualichu entering the moon and breaking it up; the people then would spit at the moon and throw stones at it to drive the evil spirit away (Borgatello, 1924, p. 22). On starting to smoke, the smoker would blow a puff toward each of the four cardinal points and mutter a prayer (Musters, 1871, p. 174; 1872, p. 203). At marriage feasts, great care was taken lest the meat or offal of the animals slaughtered therefor was touched by the dogs, as this would have been unlucky; at the shaman's child-curing rite, in which a white mare was killed and eaten, care was taken that no dogs should approach (Musters, 1872, pp. 201–202). On the occasion

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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POLYCHROME GUANACO CLOAKS OF PATAGONIA

BY

S. K. LOTHROP

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SOUTH American Indians, for protection against the cold, employed a cloak, a poncho, or a shirt. The genetic relationship between these garments is close, as the poncho is merely a cloak with a hole in the middle for inserting the head, while a shirt is a poncho which has been sewn up the sides. Poncho and shirt are typical of all western South America from Colombia to central Chile.[1] Robes, on the other hand, are a southern element of culture, found from Cape Horn northward to the Gran Chaco. The distribution of fur robes as given by Nordenskiöld [2] includes the following tribes:

Mataco	Yaro
Ashluslay	Chaná
Toba	Tehuelche
Abipon	Ona
Mbayá	Yahgan
Querandí	Alacaluf
Lengua	Chono
Southern Tupinambá	Araucan
Charrúa	Arica (prehistoric)

To this list we may add the Haush of Tierra del Fuego, the Puelche of the Argentine Pampas, and various tribes of the lower Paraná such as the Minuané, Chaná-Mbeguá, Timbú, etc. In short, fur robes have a continuous distribution over thirty-six degrees of latitude in southern South America.

Granted a wide distribution of even such simple cultural elements

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[1] Nordenskiöld (1919, pp. 95–107) has discussed the typology and distribution most adequately. Except in a few minor details we have followed his data.

[2] Ibid., map 15 and pp. 97–98. We have omitted literary sources on which this list is based.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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Yahgan SH6
Ona SH4

as the fur mantle, we should naturally expect to find much variation in materials, methods of manufacture, and manner of use. Among the Canoe Indians of Tierra del Fuego, robes were made typically of seal- or otter-skin, and were worn with the fur side outward. Eastern Yahgan at times also used guanaco, while western Yahgan and Alacaluf employed coypu-skins. The stitching was of whale sinew. A characteristic feature of all Magellanic mantles is their small size, for they measure about 35 by 50 inches and covered only the upper part of the body, being held in place with thongs tied across the shoulders. Yahgan capes, to the knowledge of the writer, never received painted decoration on the skin side, but an Alacaluf cape of three coypu-skins, secured for the Museum in 1925 (14/2252), had been painted red.

Ona mantles were made of two or three skins of adult guanaco sewn together with sinews from the back of this animal. They measure about five feet square, which is enough to envelop the body from neck to ankle. Ona women painted their robes red on the skin side, which was worn next the body, and, when this task was finished, they turned the fur side uppermost to wipe their encrimsoned hands. Thus streaks were produced on the fur, but in no way could they be regarded as deliberately made patterns. In fact, the only fields for painted decoration among the Ona were their persons and their dance paraphernalia, while their patterns, like those of the Yahgan,[3] were crude daubs of color, uncertain in line and simple in rhythm.

On the use of fur robes in the Chaco, Nordenskiöld[4] writes that they are seemingly an impractical garment for a tropical climate infested with insects; but, as a matter of fact, the nights are often cool, while chilling winds sweep over the country in May and June. Formerly cloaks made of coypu-skins were common, but these have given way to sheep-skin robes owing to the trade value of the former, and the sheep-skin garments in turn are being replaced by capes or ponchos of woven material. Robes in the Chaco are worn fur side inward, and they are painted on the skin side (fig. 12).

The Tehuelche cape (fig. 1), known as *quillango*, is a fur robe measuring a few inches more than five feet on a side. The fur was worn next to the body and the skin side was elaborately painted.

[3] Lothrop, 1928, pl. ix.
[4] 1919, p. 98.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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Pl. LXV, *d*, has a much simpler assemblage of alternating squares set between parallel lines of red. Pl. LXVI has the most complicated pattern of the Museum collection, for it contains a four-unit design built up of crosses flanked on all sides by squares.

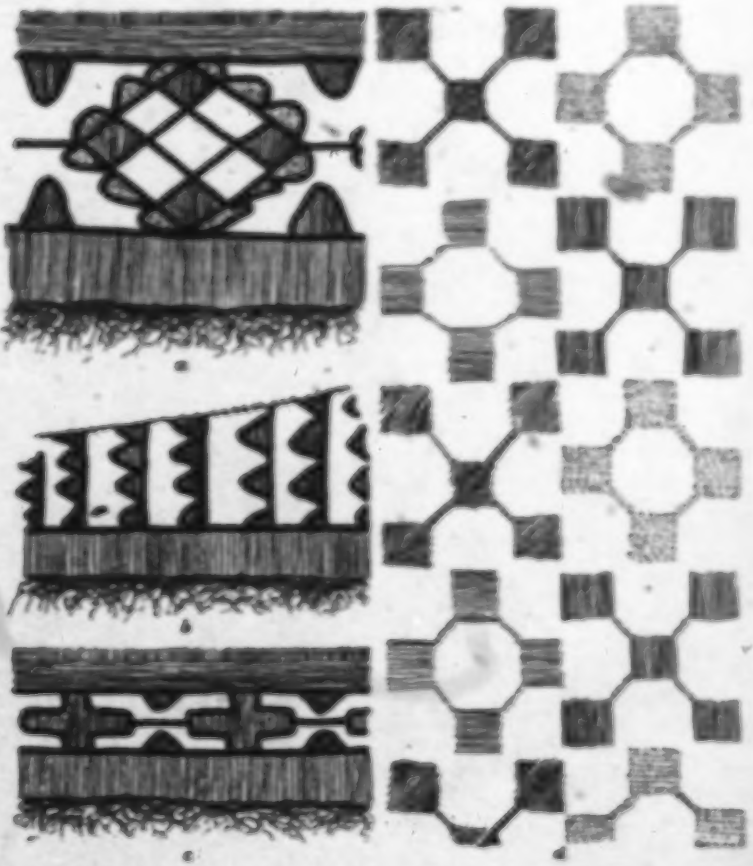

FIG. 8.—Designs from a Tehuelche guanaco robe. *a*, Three-border pattern; *b*, corner; *c*, one-border pattern; *d*, center. (13/3769)

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Such, then, are the Tehuelche patterns. To what are they related and where do they belong in the cultural scheme of southern South America? We have already pointed out that the central patterns exhibit a different tradition from the border and corner patterns. The

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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latter consist of black outlines filled with color, a decorative method particularly characteristic of New World pottery. Furthermore, the confinement of design within bands is a pottery characteristic, while

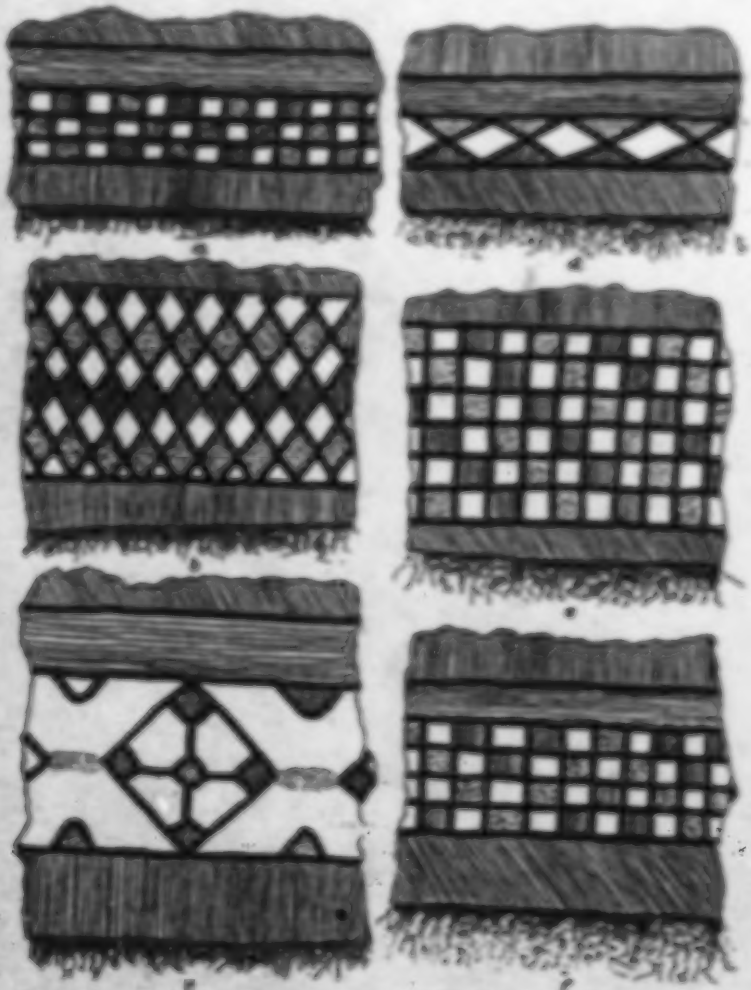

FIG. 9—Tehuelche patterns. *a*, *d*, One-border patterns; *b*, *e*, corner patterns; *c*, *f*, three-border patterns. (*a–c*, 13/3270; *d–f*, 13/3269)

sense of the patterns themselves, such as fig. 8, *a–c*, or pl. LXVI, *c*, strongly suggest widespread ceramic motives. Hence to seek comparisons we turn first to ceramic remains.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929

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The painted pottery found nearest to the Tehuelche comes (1) from the coastal region in Chile between Valparaiso and Puerto Montt, (2) from the Calchaquí region in northwestern Argentina, (3) from the Gran Chaco, (4) from the south bank of the Río Luján, and (5) from the islands of the Paraná delta. The Chilean pottery is represented by a few examples in the Museum from Temuco in the province of Cautín, and we have seen also a small collection in the National Museum at Santiago. It is a grayish white ware with black or red designs strongly recalling ceramic remains from our Southwestern states. The patterns afford no ground for comparison with those of the Tehuelche.

Calchaquí pottery exhibits within itself wide variations which we have not space here to discuss. In glancing through museum collections and printed illustrations we have encountered sufficient likeness to Tehuelche art to arouse a feeling that there is some vague relationship, especially with specimens from the province of Mendoza. For instance, from Huasan [21] and many other sites come painted checkerboard designs suggesting Tehuelche art. However, we know little of chronological sequence in the Calchaquí, and it would be unwise to draw conclusion on this or similar evidence which might be presented.

Modern pottery from the Gran Chaco does not suggest to the writer interrelationship with the Tehuelche.

On the south bank of the Río Luján formerly lived the Querandí Indians who attacked and fired the first settlement at Buenos Aires. This tribe has totally disappeared and the only trace of them today consists of archeological remains. A presumably Querandí site on the Arroyo Sarandí, excavated in 1925 by the Thea Heye - La Plata Expedition, yielded both incised and painted pottery. The latter showed no relationship to Tehuelche art, but the incised ware suggests Tehuelche meander patterns, seen in fig. 1.

Painted pottery from the delta islands of the Paraná presumably is the handiwork of Guaraní Indians. A site on the Arroyo Guayracá (Arroyo Malo), excavated by the Thea Heye - La Plata expedition, produced a few vessels decorated with red and black paint. As might be expected of Guaraní ceramics, however, the designs point definitely to the north and show no relationship with Tehuelche art.

[21] Lafone Quevedo, 1905.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

A survey of painted pottery in relation to Tehuelche border and corner patterns then yields no very definite connections, although the Tehuelche designs considered suggest in themselves a pottery technique. An examination of basketry decoration from the coast of Chile, from the Araucanian district, and from the Gran Chaco, gives only negative results. At the same time, some of the Tehuelche patterns, especially those in the central field, indicate a basketry prototype.

FIG. 10.—Tehuelche Indians. (After Pernetty)

Araucanian weaving,[116] on the other hand, has certain definite links with Tehuelche robes. In the first place, checkerboard patterns are common and often are arranged to form zigzags. Secondly, when the Araucanian poncho has a border pattern, it is not a unit completely encircling the cloth, as is the case with Bolivian and Peruvian textiles. On the contrary, the border designs are arranged in opposing pairs, which differ from each other in color, pattern, and

[116] Lothrop, 1927.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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width. While this ordering of border decoration is not exactly like the Tehuelche arrangement, it is the only suggestion of it that we have been able to find in contiguous territory.

The guanaco robe illustrated in fig. 1 has for its central pattern a series of large meanders and frets, quite different in character from the corresponding designs on the Museum's specimens and on others examined by the writer. We believe this represents an older current of Patagonian art. In fig. 10 we reproduce an eighteenth-century picture of Patagonian robes showing the decorations, probably drawn with some accuracy, as the artist must have had an opportunity to inspect the specimens brought back to Paris by the expedition of Duclos-Guyot.[10] The type of design depicted corresponds with verbal descriptions of contemporary and more recent date. For instance, d'Orbigny speaks of "un manteau de peaux d'animaux, sur lequel, du coté opposé au poil, ils figurent des groques irregulieres et variées,"[11] while the description in Pernetty states that the robes were painted with blue and red figures "qui semblent approcher des caracteres Chinois, mais presque tous semblables, & séparés par des lignes droites, qui forment des espaces des quarrés & des losanges." The description of Musters, already quoted, implies that there were at

FIG. 11.—Charrúa Indian. (After Pernetty)

[10] Pernetty, vol. II, p. 125, footnote b.
[11] Vol. II, p. 22.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SI85 Tehuelche SI85

the time of his journey two distinct classes of design, and of these one was marked by zigzags like the robe in fig. 10.

In fig. 11 we illustrate a cloak from Montevideo adorned in much the same fashion as ancient Patagonian specimens. This piece must have been made by the Charrúa Indians, who formerly inhabited the western half of Uruguay, for Pernetty[1] expressly states that it was worn by natives who lived *only* a few leagues from the city. In describing these garments he says that they were "peint en rouge

FIG. 12.—Otter-skin robe. Mataco Indian. (After Nordenskiöld, 1913)

& en bleu gris, par quarrés, losanges & triangles." The Charrúa Indians have been extinct for many years, and no examples of their perishable handiwork probably are in existence, but the engraving has been executed with such detail that we can feel confidence in its accuracy.

The ancient school of design depicted in figs. 10 and 11 has survived to this day among tribes of the Gran Chaco, not in the

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 296.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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wearing but in painted robes, carved gourds and facial painting. In fig. 12 we show an otter-skin robe made by the Mataco Indians. Each of the fifteen skins in this garment has been decorated with its own individual pattern, painted in two distinct manners, which perhaps indicates that two individuals collaborated in its manufacture. At any rate, the thin-line designs are based on a series of squares, lozenges, and zigzags obviously suggestive of old-time decorations of the Charrúa and Tehuelche.

FIG. 13—Skin with painted decoration. Lengua Indian. Length, 91 in. (145cm)

Skin robes, as already stated, were in general use throughout the Chaco until recently. They embraced the kind seen in fig. 12, marked by geometric decoration, and also a second class, painted with crude life forms (fig. 13). The second group apparently is totally unrelated to Tehuelche motifs, on which anthropomorphic patterns are completely absent, but this type of design is ancient, for it reflects petroglyphs found in the Chaco and farther to the west and south.

Incised or burned designs on gourds are common throughout the Chaco,[29] and these patterns at times suggest early Tehuelche motives. Similarly facial painting also recalls the art found farther to the south.[30]

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[29] The technology and distribution have been discussed by Nordenskiöld, 1912, pp. 250-256.

[30] Lehmann-Nitsche, 1910.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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What we have called the ancient Tehuelche school of design has archeological affiliations over a very wide area. Nordenskiöld[27] published the Mataco robe reproduced in our fig. 12 because he recognized a connection with designs on incised pottery excavated near the San Francisco, a tributary of the Bermejo river. Incised pottery with patterns exhibiting local variations but in general recalling Tehuelche designs is found along the course of the Paraná river (fig. 14), especially in the provinces of Santa Fé, Entre Ríos, and

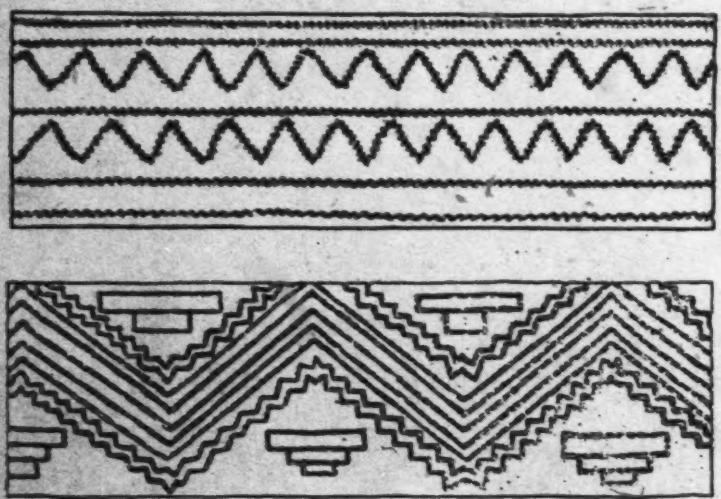

FIG. 14.—Designs incised on pottery vessels. El Cerrillo, Paraná Guazú river, Argentina. (14/7117)

Buenos Aires. This incised ware indeed extends southward along the Atlantic littoral[27a] into Patagonia well beyond the Deseado river, that is, to south latitude 48°.[28] Burial grounds and refuse heaps in the Paraná delta yield comparable designs scratched on bone and antler objects.[29] Incised decoration on pottery from northwestern

[27] 1903, fig. 13.

[27a] See Outes (1908) and Holmes (1912).

[28] Incised designs from Patagonia have been published by Outes, 1904. This important archeological paper, as well as historical sources from Pigafetta to d'Orbigny, have not been utilized in distributional maps published by Spinden and Wissler, for they draw the southern limits of pottery at the Río Negro.

[29] Torres, 1911.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
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Argentina, especially from the province of Mendoza,[20] at times is strikingly like Tehuelche motives.

Aside from fur robes, the most elaborately decorated objects from Patagonia are ceremonial axes, plaques, and labrets, and, as might be expected, the patterns on them show the closest resemblance to the old-style embellishment on skin.[21] In fig. 15 we illustrate a stone

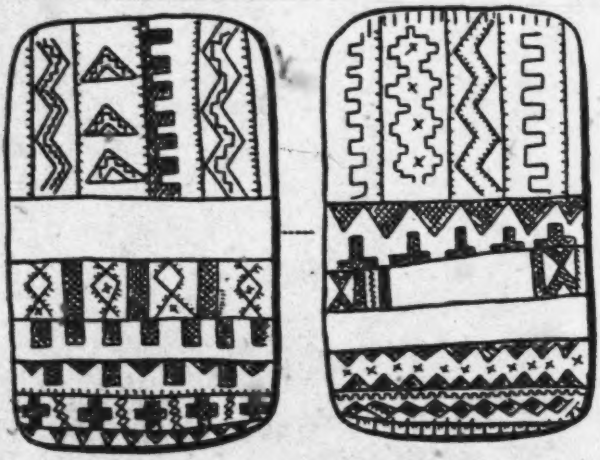

FIG. 15.—Engraved stone plaque. (After Outes, 1916)

plaque engraved with fine-line designs, unusual though not unique in their elaboration. These consist of triangles, lozenges, zigzags, and meanders, executed in a manner very suggestive of the cloak in fig. 10, as well as some of the recent border patterns. The purpose of the engraved axes and plaques has been the subject of controversy, but there can be little doubt that they have an antiquity of several centuries.

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Our survey of Tehuelche robes has shown that this kind of garment once was in general use throughout southern South America.

[20] For example, the Chaquiago incised ware, published by Lafone Quevedo, 1905.

[21] Axes and plaques have been illustrated by Ambrosetti (1901, 1902, 1904), Giglioli (1903), Holmes (1912), Lehmann-Nitsche (1909, 1909a, 1916), Outes (1905, 1908, 1916, 1916a), Verneau (1903), and Verneau and Vaulx (1902). Lehmann-Nitsche (1924) has described labrets.

4: Lothrop A-4 (no date) 1929
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Painted decorations on specimens collected in recent years, though based on simple elements, exhibit a complexity of rhythm scarcely to be expected among people of such general cultural poverty. A study of the designs has shown that they can be divided into two major groups. The more recent of these shows apparent connection with textile patterns of the Araucanians, although the relationship is too vague and the available material too scanty for exact demonstration. The Araucanians, it will be recalled, in the sixteenth century occupied only a few small valleys east of the Andes, but in the eighteenth century they overran most of the Pampas, thus coming into contact with the Tehuelche.

We also have given reasons for believing that the Tehuelche formerly adorned their robes with designs of a different type, related to the art of other nomadic tribes, such as the Charrúa, and until recently found in the Chaco. This school of decoration we believe is basic over a large area in South America, for it is typical of archeological remains not only from Patagonia but as well from the Pampas, from the Calchaquí region, the lower Paraná, and from the Gran Chaco.

The absence of such decorative motives among the Ona and Haush of Tierra del Fuego implies that they had been separated from their mainland kinsmen for many centuries, and it raises the question whether the Tehuelche carried this type of design with them when they populated Patagonia or whether it reached them by infiltration at a later date.

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